1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

13

HEALERS OTHER THAN THE SHAMAN

759 THE singers and herb doctors, now to be considered, did not aspire to the dread name "shaman." True, they were called in after diagnosis, and often it was they who performed the cure. Yet they received only the pay given a neighbor who helped with house-building or harvest—a meal and good will for the future. Meantime the shaman might receive a horse or a cow. Yet the shaman went in danger of his life, avoided and feared as a potential sorcerer. The singer, by his activities, brought blessing on himself and on any who helped him.

One would expect an antagonism between the shaman and these intruders in his field. Obviously, their presence would not have been possible had not the Papago admitted several explanations of disease, each carrying with it its own form of cure. Their variety pushed the shaman into the position of diagnostician, where he was able to favor or to ignore the specialists as his "dreams" dictated. Gossip said that the shaman sometimes arranged his diagnosis so as to "throw business" toward his friends, but most informants denied this. "A shaman *had* no friends. People feared him too much."

[572]

FOR DISEASE CAUSED BY CEREMONIAL LAPSE

755 Probably the group of healers having least to do with the shaman was that of the ritualists who cured for ceremonial lapse.[1] Usually

[1] Russell says nothing about ceremonial lapse and its cure with the Pima. Nevertheless, he gives instances of curing by both Navitcu (p. 266) and the *vilkita* singers or "North People" with their effigies (p. 328*n*).

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753 times had a relation to traits in the animal. Thus, most coughs came
825 from the deer, "because he snorts and snuffles." Head lice were from the eagle, usually infested with them. Headache and dizziness were from the horse, "because you feel that way when he throws you." Certain animals were particularly common as avengers, the larger ones appearing oftenest. The writer, when staying in a Papago house, was once caught by her hostess swatting flies. She attempted to excuse the slaughter by explaining: "You know, we white people are peculiar. We think flies bring disease."

"Oh," replied the Papago, "we think disease comes from animals, too, but we wouldn't pick on anything so small as a fly. We'd think of big ones, like the badger or the deer."

787 The animals came unsought to their "meeters," giving, perhaps,
759 one song which could be used to evoke their good will.[2] Both men and women received these songs, and often those not otherwise given to dreaming managed this one contact with the supernatural. Said one woman:

> I was out in the desert one day and saw a horned toad looking at me. I knew he meant to say something, and I thought about it. That night, I waked up, and a song began to come to me. But I couldn't get it all. Next morning, I lay still and thought, and then I began to sing it. It was about the horned toad.
>
> For a long time nobody knew anything about it except that my family heard me singing. At last my mother was very sick. They had other singers and nothing had happened. My family asked me to try, but I was ashamed. At last I did, and she got well. Then other people asked me.(26)

752 One modern singer cures injuries resulting from falling off a
776 horse or being kicked by horses and cattle. Since these animals are
777 importations from the whites, his visitant is another white importation, the devil.

[114] [2] Russell says nothing about singers of animal songs among the Pima, yet they must have existed. He gives a list of symptoms and procedures (pp. 262–63) very similar to the ones quoted here. Some of his medicine songs (pp. 312–14, 317, 319, 320–21) are obviously those given by animals. His statement is that these are a remedy for animal-sent disease, and, by inference, the singer is the shaman. However, in the case of the dog disease (p. 263) "someone who knows the dog song is called in to sing." Very likely, there were singers for the other songs also.

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I once fell from a horse and was unconscious for twenty-four hours. 952
During that time, devils came to me. They were dressed like Mexicans 776
and had yellowish faces and mustaches. They were riding horses and 787
had a spare horse for me. We rode inside the mountain ranges and saw the gold and silver piled up there. They sang and I learned their songs. When I came to, I was singing them.

Now, every night as I fall asleep I hear them singing, far off. It is a new song, and I learn it as they approach. When they arrive, I know it, and we go off singing together. Sometimes I don't remember the song in the morning; often I do. I did not cure for a long time, but there was no one else who knew songs for the horse disease, so after awhile the people asked me to sing, and I did.

A woman informant said: 787

I have always dreamed since I was a child. I could have been a 759 ●
shaman, but my father did not wish it. But many visitants kept coming to me: Coyote came, a black thousand-legs, and finally a spider.

I had been picking cactus once and was tired. I made a mound of earth to support my head and lay down to sleep. Before me, at the entrance of a hollow in the rock, a spider was spinning its thread. I said to it: Won't you fall? Then it sang me a song about itself.

1. Little gray spider shaman
At the cave entrance hanging!
"Do not think I shall fall,
I have two hands;
By them I am hanging."(26)

Years afterward, when I was a widow and younger women began to come and ask my advice about their children, I began using that song. I found I had great power.

The meeter was usually instructed by his visitant as to how to 787
obtain a fetish, which might be claw, tuft of hair, or peculiarly 759
shaped stone. Sometimes the meeter himself carved the visitant's 533
image out of wood. In curing, he waved the fetish over the patient or brushed away evil with it as the shaman brushed with his plumes. He also learned a song and the proper musical accompaniment with rattle or basket drum. Often, as has been said, such a song might differ, only in one word or note from another that

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the meeter had heard. There was every opportunity for such adaptation, for curing songs were not secret, like shaman songs. The performance itself was public, and half the village attended to help with the singing and gain a blessing. One boy of twelve, known to the writer, had already a large repertoire of curing songs and would have found little trouble in "dreaming" more.

Some meeters had only one dream and one song but usually, they went on to a whole series, which might involve several visitants. One(17) who supplied many of the songs quoted, was almost a full-time professional, with a song for every ailment. He had a list of symptoms for each disease, gained, he said, by observation of the people for whom he sang. In fact, every singer was able to give some such list. Some symptoms seemed to be so widely known that when they appeared no diagnostician was called for, but the curing singer came in immediately.

The singer was invited by having a little corn meal placed in his hand. He came at sunset and sang or recited all night, with a pause at midnight to eat. The one seen by the writer had no fetish, but after each song, he leaned toward the patient so that she could breathe from him. If several singers were present, they took turns, each singing his own songs, while the other singers and the audience helped.

The songs below are from several different singers, arranged so that all those referring to one animal are placed together. The statements of symptoms have been added for what interest they may have, and also the fetish and the musical accompaniment demanded by each singer.[4] The songs "were composed by the animals, telling of their habits, so that people would understand them and not cause annoyance." They might, therefore, be comic or disparaging, as well as poetic or realistic. They were never merely laudatory and never in the form of a prayer. But quite usually they began with the animal's name as a powerful form of invocation.

BADGER.—*Symptoms:* swelling, or boils on the neck. *Fetish:* a

[4] Many of these details may have become standardized in the area, since Russell often quotes similar ones for the Pima (Russell, pp. 262–67).

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I can do nothing
There; before me he is groaning.
The scalp songs cast light.
Therewith it is ended.(20)

Lovesickness in men might also be due to the scalp mannikins and might be cured by the scalp songs. But it was more often attributed to the light women who filled the role of courtesans or prostitutes. As a fetish a little clay figure of a woman was made, or of a man and a woman. The curing songs were the songs of the light women which were sung at the drinking festival. One was quoted as being used especially for lovesickness. It was sung without musical accompaniment, by anyone who knew it.

Addressed by a man to the light woman who takes him to dance.

46. Women surround me.
Yonder songs are sounding;
Toward them they lead me.
Yonder songs are sounding;
Toward them they lead me.(31)

47. Yonder toward the west I run;
Running, I sing.
A man I see who is carrying a woman.
He takes me with him.
My heart glows blazing.(31)

Eagle and salt sicknesses were less common. The eagle sickness generally showed itself in nosebleed or in lice. It resulted from the breaking of a taboo connected with eagle killing and could be cured only by an eagle killer, using his tuft of down as a fetish.[12]

THE HERB DOCTOR

In addition to the singers, we should list one practitioner who had not necessarily any connection with the supernatural. This was the herb doctor. In one sense, every housewife in Papagueria was a herb doctor for as a by-product of her food gathering she

[12] A similar treatment among the Pima is indicated by Russell, pp. 263 (eagle and hawk), 289, 335.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

collected and kept on hand such simple remedies as greasewood 759 ●
for colds and a leaf called "buzzard's mother" for infant diarrhea. Women exchanged lore about these old wives' remedies among themselves and rarely called in an outside practitioner until disease grew serious. Some rarer and much-desired herbs had to be brought from Mexico or from Mt. Baboquiviri, where running water produced an exotic tropical vegetation. There were men and even women who made a living out of picking and drying [278] such herbs and then peddling them around the country. Such "doctors" even prescribed on occasion, as a modern pharmacist might do if the malady were a simple one. Their trade, however, was in the same class as food peddling and involved no vision. When serious illness was in question, the patient called a shaman.[18]

This legitimate practitioner, however, might supplement his 759
blowing and sucking by an herbal remedy, "if he saw it in his 177
dream."(4) Today this practice is gaining more and more hold. 278
A shaman of the writer's acquaintance frequently "saw" herbal laxatives—even quinine and aspirin—obtained from the government hospital. Though the directions which he followed might have been read to him from the bottle, he explained that he later dreamed them all over again, thus making them valid for *his* patients.

Curing singers of all sorts still do a thriving business on the 759
reservation, as do herb doctors. Among them, there are govern- 755
ment school products and church members. They seem to be employed by all classes of Papago, even when the government doctor and hospital are also used.

[18] For Pima herb doctors see Russell, p. 257.

[p. 302 is blank]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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872 tremely shy with her in the beginning, staring soberly at her when addressed, sitting at his desk without moving, and following the example of others when response is expected of him. He resents any physical contact with the teacher and shrinks away if she leans over to help him or puts a friendly hand on his shoulder. In a fairly short time, however, his shyness decreases; he talks in Papago to the other children in front of the teacher, speaks up when reciting, and sometimes even begs to be "next." When the child relaxes into the fun-loving little person he ordinarily is, he frequently becomes noisy and has to be asked to be quiet. He does so, momentarily at least, and takes the rebuke as a matter of course. Ordinarily he minds the teacher rather well. Little girls spend a good deal of their free time with the teacher, watching her every move with curiosity, trying to talk with her, and always beaming at any attention.

SICKNESS AND HEALTH

753 Long before he is five years old, the Papago child knows and fears sickness.[7]
857 He has already learned that contacts with animals and with ghosts appearing in animal form may make him ill. Now he is taught that his own bad thoughts may also bring sickness (see chap. vi), and he has also learned to fear the power of the "bad" medicine man or witch.

755 In time of illness attributed to any of these causes, the child has implicit faith
957 in the "good" medicine man, for the shaman is often someone he knows or even a relative. The youngster has no fear of him, although he does stand in some awe of the medicine man's power to communicate with the terrifying animals and ghosts. During this age period the shaman does not perform over the child any rite similar to the birth or puberty ceremonies, but he becomes a familiar and trusted figure.

857 To the school doctor and nurse, however, the child's reaction is very differ-
● 759 ent. When he undergoes a physical examination at school each year, he is
609 liable to be very frightened; he does not like to be touched by the white medicine man, and he resents being even partially disrobed. The teacher knows this and tries to fortify him while he is being examined. After several visits of the doctor or nurse,[8] the youngster becomes somewhat accustomed to them and, if not undressed, will submit to examination with no show of nervousness except extreme quiet. He will allow external medicines to be used on him and will take cough syrup, and sometimes he asks the teacher to clean or bandage a sore or cut.

7. For discussion of the health of Papago children see chap. xii.

8. Doctors come to the school once a month, nurses semimonthly.